1: Burrows--98
116, 588, 601, 611

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Extension of exogamy to some relatives on the father's side has already been noted. Marriage is forbidden, not only with the father himself, but with his children and his sister's children. This extension of the incest ban to some relatives on the father's side is suggested by the kinship terms, which are extended bilaterally. The term for mother is applied to father's sisters as well as mother's sisters; and the sibling terms are extended to all cousins recognized as such, on the father's as well as the mother's side."

1: Burrows--98A-99 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-4
116, 601 Ifalik

"The terms used on Ifalik to designate relationships by descent and marriage are shown in the following table. These are exclusively terms of reference, not used in address. Whatever the relationship, people are addressed by their names, often shortened in familiar speech. The only term used in address that implies a relationship, so far as I learned, is autegā. This is not a kinship term but an endearment, sometimes used by a man to his wife when they are by themselves.

Kinship terms take possessive suffixes: tamai, my father; tamōm, your father; tamān or tamāl, his father; tamāre, our father; tamāmi, your (pl.) father; tamēr, their father, [sic] The form used in the table is the first person singular. The third person singular appears also in composite terms. [99]

KINSHIP TERMS

Generation	Lineal	Collateral	Affinal
+2	Paternal grandfather, tematemai. Descriptive composite terms for other grandparents: paternal grandmother, sin ni tamai, (mother of my father); maternal	Lineal terms extended to others of the same generation.	Descriptive composites, as tamatamān ni vetiai, paternal grandfather of my wife.

Generation	Lineal	Collateral	Affinal
	grandfather, tamān ni silei; maternal grandmother, sin ni silei.		
+1	father, tamai mother silei	mother's brother, manenepai (sometimes manenepei; extended within lineage; sometimes further within clan. Mother's sister, silei, extended; father's brother, tamai; father's sister, silei; both extended.	Descriptive composites, as tamān ni vetiai, father in law (father of my wife).

1: Burrows--98A-99 (1947-48) Woleaians-3
116, 601 Ifalik

Generation	Lineal	Collateral	Affinal
0	sibling of same sex (brother of man, sister of woman) bwisi. sibling of opposite sex (sister of man, brother of woman), moengai.	bwisi and moengai extended.	spouse, vetiai. Other terms composite, as bwisin ni vetiai, sister-in-law (sister of wife) or brother-in-law (brother of husband); moengān ni vetiai, brother of wife, sister of husband.
-1	child, lai. (Son, lai mwal; daughter, lai rowot).	sister's child of man, vatuwei; extended within lineage. Lai extended to other nieces & nephews.	Descriptive composites, as laun ni bwisin ni vetiai, child of the sister of my wife, or child of the brother of my husband.
-2	grandchild, launei	launei extended.	Descriptive composites.

The system of classifying relatives exemplified by these terms is widespread in

Oceania, and has been called by a variety of names. The most generally used of late seems to be 'Polynesian system'."

1: Burrows--100-101 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-5
116, 601 Ifalik

"Another [KS: system of classifying relatives] proposed by Dr. Fred Eggan of the University of Chicago, is 'generation system.' This specifies the distinguishing characteristic of the type: that the strongest category in classifying relatives is that of generation or genealogical level. No term is applied to relatives in more than one generation. The category of descent is weaker in that terms for relatives in the direct line are extended to apply also to relatives in collateral lines.

In so far as the category of generation is stronger than that of descent, the terminology used on Ifalik differs from the actual alignment of relatives in groups. In two of the groups, clan and lineage, the category of descent predominates. In the joint family, three categories are involved--descent, common residence, and marriage. There are no groups based on generation level, and groups based on common age, as already noted, are relatively weak.

Yet kinship terms are not so completely at variance with usage as might appear at first glance. Although people are not formally grouped by generation level, the informal grouping of males in canoe-houses follows a line of cleavage which approximates that of generation. Boys and young men (even after marriage) cluster by themselves. Much of the time they are separate from the older men, though a common task, or even common interest in the subject of a conversation, may bring the two groups together. The most distinct young men's groups were in the two northernmost canoe-houses, in the part of Falārik where there are no longer any dwellings. Older men generally

congregated in the canoe-house nearest the homestead where they lived, so much of the time the youngsters had these canoe-houses to themselves.

Relative age is more generally important in that a senior outranks a junior. The clearest formal expression of this is in succession to chieftainship. It appears also in the form of a general attitude of respect and deference for elders. This is not elaborated by formal etiquette but is constantly perceptible.

At one crucial point the kinship terms make a distinction between lines of descent. This is in the use of separate terms for what we can only translate as 'father' (tamai) and what we can only translate as 'mother's brother' (manenepai). The same distinction appears in the reciprocals of these terms; that for 'child' or 'offspring' (lai--here there is no distinction of sex) and that for 'sister's child' (vatuwei).

Tamai is applied primarily to the father and to the men of his generation--mostly his brothers--who live, or lived before their marriage, on his ancestral homestead. If there is frequent association--which would ordinarily come about through neighboring residence--with more distant relatives on his side, the term would be applied also to them. Application of it to persons outside his clan (his father's father's brother's sons, for instance) is also usual, when association with such kinsfolk keeps the relationship in mind. In any case, this term, though rather widely extended to men of the older generation, ordinarily expresses a relationship through the father. Its most immediate use

is to express the relationship to the father himself; next, that to his brothers; next, to other men, if any, of his generation and lineage. Similarly, manenepai applies primarily to mother's eldest brother; then to her other brothers; then to other men of her generation and lineage. When extended further, as all Ifalik terms can be when occasion demands, it would still express a relationship to a man of the parental generation through the mother. The distinction between tamai and manenepai, as most often used, is essentially one between father's lineage and mother's lineage.

The reciprocal terms manenepai and vatuwei express a special relationship of the kind that Radcliffe Brown calls dyadic (SS: 'all social relations of person to person'); and the kind that our students of personality usually mean when they speak of 'interpersonal relations.' The language of Ifalik, too, has a term for such relationships. Maru e malu means a pair of closely related individuals; it may be husband and wife, parent and child, siblings, or mother's brother and sister's son. [101]

The latter relationship, commonly called the avunculate, is important in Ifalik, as might be expected in a matrilineal, matrilocal society. But it is not extremely developed. It is not emphasized by ritual, nor by any formal privilege, nor reinforced by cross-cousin marriage. Cross-cousin marriage is permitted, but not required, nor even especially preferred.

The mother's brother can not be said to supplant the father, though his role includes some functions performed by the father in societies of a more patriarchal cast. Because

of matrilocal residence, a young person's father usually lives in the same homestead with him, while a mother's brother, once he is married, does not. Yet the mother's brother is the most closely related older male in anyone's own lineage. He personifies the main source of livelihood, insofar as a man is a more appropriate representative or symbol of that than a woman is. The relationship is most conspicuous in economic reciprocity between males. The vatuwei, or sister's son (sometimes in a classificatory sense) is the heir presumptive of the manenepai, (or one of them,) and may be regarded as dependent on him for a livelihood. This imposes on the vatuwei an obligation which he discharges by services, particularly work performed for the manenepai. Specific examples of this will be given in the discussion of economic co-operation. When the manenepai is a chief, the vatuwei may succeed to the title, though younger brothers of the chief have first claim.

There is no corresponding special term for father's sister. She is one of the 'classificatory mothers', the term silei being extended to her. In this extension of the term, the category of common descent is disregarded; a father's sister can not be of the same clan as the mother, because of clan exogamy. No special powers are attributed to the father's sister, as in some Pacific islands; and no special obligations imposed on her reciprocal, the brother's child. Since father's sisters are the most closely related older women in the father's household, the relationship is kept in mind by the generally frequent

association with that household. So the relationship is a rather close, kindly one; but there is no formal emphasis upon it."

1: Burrows--101-102 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-3
116, 601, 593 Ifalik

"One of the characteristics of the type of kinship terminology to which that of Ifalik belongs is the way in which sex is specified in the terms for siblings. There is no term for 'brother' or male sibling, and none for 'sister' or female sibling. What the terms specify is whether the speaker and the sibling referred to are of the same sex or not. Bwisi means 'my sibling of the same sex' (brother, man speaking; sister, woman speaking). Moengai means 'my sibling of opposite sex' (sister, man speaking; brother, woman speaking).

This emphasis on unisexual or bisexual pairs, rather than on the sex of the individual referred to, suggests association with the incest ban. Polynesia shares this feature of kinship terminology; and in western Polynesia there is a formal pattern of avoidance between brothers and sisters. In Ifalik there is only a slight trace of such avoidance. Formerly, when unmarried youths slept in the men's house, brother and sister did not sleep under the same roof; but now that the men's houses are no longer used as bachelors' dormitories, and the young men sleep in their own homesteads, an unmarried man and his sister often sleep in the same dwelling. The only restriction on conversation between them is that sexual topics are forbidden; and that holds between men and women generally, except for married couples and lovers. The one trace of avoidance appeared when Tom, in Spiro's presence, refused to light a cigarette for a woman of his household. He gave as the reason that they were brother and sister. He said brother

and sister may not eat food cooked over the same fire. [102] (He was using the term moengāl in an extended sense. The two were parallel cousins, their mothers having been sisters.) I have no data on how rigorously this prohibition is observed; but apparently, as often in Oceania, a food tabu has been extended to smoking.

On the positive side, the relationship between brother and sister is very close, and involves an obligation of mutual help. A man's welimwales, the women and children for whom he feels responsible, include his sisters and their children, as well as his wife and own children. Sisters, as well as mother and wife, lead in the wailing over a dead man's body before burial. When the chiefs, following the advice of the American physician, were haranguing the people about sanitation, urging them not to defecate on shore but use overwater toilets or go into the sea, one of them said, 'If a man is sick and can not go into the sea, let his wife or sister collect the feces and take them into the sea.'

Between siblings of the same sex there is also a close relationship of mutual helpfulness. They often work together, sisters in the taro patch or about the house, brothers fishing or making toddy. The only distinctive pattern I found was in a song which tells of two brothers going into the bush with the same sweetheart. When this song was dictated to me by the chiefs, they evidently knew it was something I was not used to. They laughed about it, loudly, and, I thought, a little uneasily. Tom said afterward that the practise is not rare. When asked if it applied to wives as well as sweethearts, he

denied that emphatically. 'Very bad that--all same America.' He said that if a man went to another island, his brother might bring food to the wife and her children; but this was a matter of choice, depending on the state of feeling among the individuals concerned. When a man dies, his brother may marry the widow. But this practise (the levirate), is not required or regarded as particularly praiseworthy. My data do not show how prevalent it may be. Given the excess of women over men and the fact that polygyny, though said to be permissible, is not practised, many widows do not remarry.

The one little tabu between brother and sister, slight as it is, is the only pattern of avoidance between relatives to be found. Mothers-in-law are treated with respect and deference, but not avoided. The sight of a man eating a household meal with his wife, the children, and his mother-in-law is not uncommon. Conversely, there is no formally patterned intimacy of the kind usually called a joking relationship.

The bilateral extension of sibling terms, so that there is no distinction between parallel cousins and cross cousins, is reflected in the existence, at least conceptually, of a bilateral group of relatives or kindred (airō), discussed on p. 98."

2: Damm et al. --74 (1909) 1938 Woleaians-1-2
116, 601 · Ifaluk

The terms used to describe the family relationships show to what an extent the family circle (lewugodâi sēudŏb or sēukaidŭn) was developed in a narrower and also in a wider meaning; these are the terms for:
grandfather (on the father's side) demăl dămâi.
grandmother (on the father's side) sine dămâi.
grandfather (on the mother's side) demăl sine, demăl silēi.
grandmother (on the mother's side) sine jine, sine silēi.
father, husband of the father's sister, husband of the mother's sister dămâi.
mother, wife of the father's brother, wife of the mother's brother, silēi.
brother, son of the father's brother, son of the father's sister, son of the mother's brother, son of the mother's sister, bisil, and also wisil.
sister, daughter of the father's brother, daughter of the father's sister, daughter of the mother's brother, daughter of the mother's sister măanăl, also miănâi.
husband, wife, jaudăg.
son lâuuli or djirimâle.
daughter lâul or djiridjawŭd.
father's brother wisil dămâi
father's sister măanăl dămâi.
mother's brother măanăl silēi or manenebēi.

mother's sister wisīl djin.
son's son, son's daughter, daughter's son, daughter's daughter, laūnēi.
wife's father demāl djāliganēai.
wife's mother sīne rāli ganēai,
wife's brother mäanāl āli ganēai.
wife's sister wisīl āli ganēai.

2: Damm et al. --140 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 601 Aurupik

Sarfert noted the following expressions to denote relationship:

father - domäl
mother - sine (silëï - my mother)
brother - wisil
sister - mianäl (this denotes the relationship between brother and sister, and vice versa.)
husband, wife - saligenëï
son, daughter - lëï
father's brother - faduäl.

Hambruch found that the following terms are used to denote relationships:

grandfather (on the father's side) puije tamai
grandmother (on the father's side) tjin i tamai
grandfather (on the mother's side) tematemax puijetjin
grandmother (on the mother's side) puije tjin temai tjine
father temai tamai
mother iin tjin
brother maneanai
younger brother puiji
older brother mar'npei
sister eietogovei
older sister maneai (this is probably identical with the Polowat term moneal; compare Damm and Sarfert, 1935, page 143).
husband tsoginiane
wife eutay
son sari
daughter nigau
father's brother marinepai e tamai
mother's brother puijid

son's son lăn ĭn măn
son's daughter lăn ĭn rawŭt
daughter's son năuĭn
daughter's daughter năuĭn rawŭt
Certain terms are used to designate age:

man măn
woman rawŭt, faîfĭn
old man itagĭl e măn
old woman itagĭl e medŭ e fai.

Hambruch does not list any terms designating children and young people.

28: Spiro--26-27 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 601, 596 Ifalik

"All members of a clan view themselves as relatives, but though their kinship terminology is classificatory, the kin terms do not extend to the entire clan, but are restricted in use, as we shall see.

Intermediate between the clan and the lineage, in size, is the extended [27] family (airo) which serves no particular function, nor is it clearly conceptualised in native thought. The airo is a bilateral, not a unilateral kin grouping as the clan and the lineage are, including relatives in both the mother's and father's lines. It is merely a classificatory term, used much as the term family, is used in our own culture to designate certain individuals, who are related in both the maternal and paternal line."

28: Spiro--27 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 596, 601 Ifalik

"This importance of airo is also displayed in kinship terminology, in which the father's brothers have the same term as the father, my father's sisters have the same term as my mother, and the children of my father's sisters father's brothers, and mother's brothers all have the same nomenclature as my own siblings and mother's sisters' children, who are of the same lineage and clan."

28: Spiro--29 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 601 Ifalik

"The Ifaluk kinship system is classificatory, though as noted above its terms are not as inclusive as are those in other types of classificatory systems. It should also be remembered that the kinship terms are terms of reference, rather than of address. Every individual is addressed by his proper name, including parents. The following kinship terms are given in the first person possessive singular. Ego's generation: Bwiz-iwis, refers to my biological siblings, of the same sex, and Mongyal to my biological siblings of opposite sex, as well as my mother's sister's children, mother's brothers' children, and father's sisters' and brothers' children. Again it may be pointed out here that only the mother's sisters children are ego's lineage and clan members, yet the same term applies to the other categories mentioned here; showing the impprtance of the airo. First ascending generation: Silei, refers to my mother, my mother's sisters, and my father's sisters. The same comment made for Bwizinis applies equally here."

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Tamae, refers to my father my father's brothers, and my mother's sisters' husbands. Malelapae, refers to my mother's brothers, and is the only non-classificatory term. Second ascending generation: Sinisin, refers to any one my mother calls, mother. This technique of reduplication extends to any ascending generation, for example, Sinisinisin, Sinisinisinisin, referring to the third and forth ascending generations, respectively. Literally, of course, these terms translate, my mother's mother, my mother's mother's mother, etc. The same principle applies for the other grandparents, and I shall not repeat this example in the other cases, having mentioned it here.

Sinitamae, refers to any one whom my father calls, mother.

Temaesin, refers to any one whom my mother calls father.

Temaetemae, refers to any one whom my father calls, father.

First descending generation: Lau, refers to my children, my brothers' children, and my wife's sisters' children.

Fatuei, refers to my sisters' children. It is the complement of Malelapae, and like it, obviously, is not classificatory. Second descending generation: Launau, refers to all the children of the people whom I call son or daughter. As in the reduplication noted above, this can be expanded indefinitely to cover as many generations as necessary."

28: Spiro--29 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 601 Ifalik

"This grouping together of a number of relatives under the same nomenclature does not imply at all, that the natives do not distinguish between them. This distinction is most emphatically made, between the biological mother, say, or sister, and the classificatory mother or sister. When a person refers to his father or mother in conversation, he invariably means biological father or mother, unless he specifically designates the classificatory relative. Even the very young children are accustomed to make this distinction. For example, when I administered the children's drawings I would ask the names of their parents and of their siblings. They invariably gave the names of their biological parents and siblings, except in the case of adopted children, in which there was no consistency, some naming them as siblings, and some not."